Alcuin Club Tracts

VIII

THE "INTERPRETATIONS" OF THE BISHOPS

& THEIR INFLUENCE ON ELIZABETHAN EPISCOPAL POLICY

(With an Appendix of the Original Documents)

BY

W. M. KENNEDY

LONGMANS, GREEN & CO

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NEW YORK, BOMBAY AND CALCUTTA

1908

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To
W. H. F.

NOTE

This document has been much discussed of late years. It has, therefore, been thought well to print the three manuscript copies. There can be no doubt that it shaped the policy of Parker and his brethren in more respects than one, and represents a sort of mutual basis for the episcopal policy. I am indebted to the authorities of the Inner Temple Library and of Corpus Christi College Library, Cambridge, for permission to print these documents, which are in their possession. The dedication expresses my sincerest thanks for kindness, revision and direction, and for much patience with my inexperience.

I would also express my thanks to the Rev. E. Rhys Jones, S. Luke's Vicarage, Reigate, beneath whose hospitable roof this little book was largely written.

W. M. K.

Feast of the Epiphany, 1908.

THE important document which is dealt with in this tract has so far never been satisfactorily edited. Strype gave a very imperfect and distorted version[1] compounded of two manuscripts and broke it up into so many fragments that it almost lost its identity. Later writers have not bettered Strype.

Before entering into any discussion of the document itself, it will be well to say something of the manuscripts. The first[2] is a draft copy with corrections in Parker's hand (which are pointed out in the notes). It comprised several subdivisions, viz.: (i) Some notes on the Royal Injunctions of 1559, (ii) on the Prayer Book, (iii) on burial, (iv) on matrimony, (v) on collation of benefices, (vi) a set of Latin Articles of Religion, and (vii) certain injunctions for deacons and readers. This MS. is headed "Resolutions concerning the Injunctions." The second MS.,[3] one which has too largely escaped notice, is similar, but in some important respects different. It is not a draft, but a fair copy written in one continuous hand. It has on the first folio a more comprehensive name than the other MS. has: "Declarations of Injunctions and Articles for Ministers and Readers," and the other headings follow as in the first MS. It is endorsed "A declaration to have been made of the Injunctions, by Dr Cox." Strype mentions Cox in connexion with the document, and he may have seen this endorsement. The writing of this endorsement seems somewhat later, but at the same time it bears a resemblance to Burghley's. It is difficult to say what this endorsement means. It may be that Cox drew up the document, then submitted

[1] *Annals*, I, i, p. 318 ff. (Ox. edn, 1824).
[2] *Petyt MSS* (Inner Temp. Lib.), vol. 538, 38, f. 223
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 538, 47, f. 545.

it to Parker; that the first MS. represents his copy sent to Parker for correction, and that the second is the copy approved by Parker and finally drawn up by Cox. The attempt has been made to minimize the value of this group of documents by calling attention to the tentative character of the MS. copies. Whatever may be said of the other MSS, this one can hardly be called an unfinished draft. It is as complete and neat as many other manuscripts that are relied on as authoritative. These two MSS evidently belong to a period before January, 1561. It is impossible to decide more definitely when they were drawn up, as neither is dated.

The third MS.[1] is less comprehensive than the others and is not divided into sections. The Latin Articles and Injunctions for deacons and readers have disappeared. It must have been drawn up after the issue of the New Kalendar (January, 1561), which, unlike the others, it mentions.

No printed copy of any form is known to exist. This fact has been used as an argument to prove the document to be without authority. This, however, is an untenable contention. A document was printed if required for wide circulation, and then printed copies may or may not survive. But this document was drawn up to shape episcopal policy, and therefore, if printed at all, only a few prints were necessary, as it was not intended for general parochial use, so that it is no surprise to find that there are no prints to be found of such a document as this. To establish its importance, contemporary evidence is wanted of its use in diocesan administration, and there is abundance of such evidence in connexion with this document, and of a convincing kind.

It is now necessary to consider the historical position of this document. Nothing was clearer than that Elizabeth's accession meant some change of service. It is of little concern whether there was any idea of restoring the First Prayer Book, and it is very doubtful if it was ever seriously discussed. As a matter of fact the Act of Uniformity restored the Second Prayer Book of 1552 with certain changes. Under

[1] *Parker MSS* (Corpus Christi Coll. Lib., Camb.), vol. cvi, p. 423.

this act the vestments were "in clear terms directed to be worn,"[1] The section read:[2]

> "Provided always, and be it enacted, that such ornaments of the Church, and of the ministers thereof, shall be retained and be in use as was in this Church of England by authority of Parliament in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI until other order shall be therein taken by the authority of the Queen's Majesty with the advice of the Commissioners appointed and authorized under the great seal of England for causes ecclesiastical or of the metropolitan of this realm."

The Ornaments' Rubric in the printed Prayer Book of 1559 read:

> "And here it shall be noted, that the minister at the time of the Communion, and at other times in his ministration, shall use such ornaments in the Church as were in use by authority of Parliament in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI according to the Act of Parliament set in the beginning of this book."

It is unnecessary to enter at any length into the contention that this was a "fraud" rubric.[3] The Act of Uniformity specified the only changes in the restored Second Prayer Book, and omitted among them any mention of a new Ornaments' Rubric,[4] therefore it is argued that the substitution of it for the direction about Ornaments of 1552 was illegal and a "fraud." The twenty-fifth section quoted above is on this theory explained to mean that the ornaments of the church and minister should be preserved until sold for the benefits of the royal purse—that, in fact, the churchwardens were to act as trustees of Church property which was to be confis-

[1] *Report of Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Disorders*, p. 19.

[2] 1 *Eliz.*, c. 2, §25.

[3] Tomlinson, *The Prayer Book, etc.*, chap. vi.

[4] 1 *Eliz.*, *c.* 2, §3, authorized the Second Prayer Book of 1552 "with one alteration or addition of certain lessons to be used every Sunday of the year, and the form of the Litany altered and corrected and two sentences only added in the delivery of the Sacrament to the communicants, and in one other or otherwise."

cated at the Royal pleasure.[1] On the face of it, this theory has much in its favour, and certain unofficial statements would seem to lend it weight, but certain things seem strongly against it.

(i) No Elizabethan Prayer Book is known to exist without the Ornaments' Rubric. Would it not have been advisable when Nonconformity became active and powerful to omit the Rubric from the Prayer Book if it had no legal authority? The taunt of the Nonconformists, "Why make us wear the surplice when you don't obey the rubric?" would have been at once silenced. This never happened.[2]

(ii) It is impossible to believe that a Service Book was issued with a rubric which lacked any force under the very eyes of the Queen and Privy Council, and stranger still that no word of protest against it comes from anyone considering it in the light of a "fraud."

(iii) The survival in use of certain vestments which the Ornaments' Rubric alone could cover.

These points warrant the assumption accepted by the recent Royal Commission that the section of the Act of Uniformity and the Rubric are one and substantially the same thing, and provided for the use of the vestments of the First Prayer Book during the actual celebration of the Holy Communion. I have no desire to discuss the vexed question of the exact standard referred to. It is simplest to interpret it as referring to the First Prayer Book. For (i) the Second Edwardine Act of Uniformity[3] speaks of the first Edwardine Act of Uniformity which gave the First Prayer Book statutory force as "the Act of Parliament made in the second year of the King's Majesty's reign." (ii) Later on, at the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, certain reasons[4] were drawn up for the Queen's consideration to move her to change altars into tables, and the First Prayer Book is there described as "the

[1] See *Royal Commission* (*op. cit.*) *Evidence*, vol. 1, Question 3,381.
[2] See Crowley, *Brief Discourse*, pp. 29, 84; Strype, *Whitgift*, 1, p. 285.
[3] Gee and Hardy, *Documents*, p. 371.
[4] *Petyt MSS*, vol. 538, 38, f. 29 (also in Strype).

first book set forth Anno 2, Ed. 6." These seem to be sufficient to turn the balance in favour of the First Prayer Book. Thus, then, the ceremonial demanded at the beginning of the reign was that provided for by the First Prayer Book of 1549.

The next step after the statutory restoration of a vernacular Service Book was a Royal Visitation by Royal Commissioners of the entire kingdom on the analogy of the Henrician and Edwardine Visitations. It is unnecessary to enter into the details or principles of the visitation, but certain of the Royal Injunctions[1] administered by the visitors bear, or seem to bear, on the question of vestments.

> "*Item*, that the churchwardens of every parish shall deliver unto our visitors the inventories of vestments, copes, etc."
>
> "*Item*, that they shall take away utterly extinct and destroy . . . all other monuments of idolatry and superstition."

Now what happened to vestments during this Royal Visitation? "A wholesale destruction by the Commissioners of chasubles, tunicles, copes, and other 'popish gear,' on the ground that they had been superstitiously used."[2] Vestments could easily be included among "monuments of idolatry and superstition," and as such be destroyed. And this is exactly what happened if the churchwardens were so disposed to class them. The reaction from Mary's reign would account for much misdirected zeal, and vestments would be given up or destroyed, not from any reasoned motive perhaps, but more often than not as undesirable memorials of the Latin rite and the Marian persecution. Vestments disappeared, but not because they were illegal. The fact that in some place they survived and were retained seems clearly to prove that the Ornaments' Rubric was taken as legalizing them. They were destroyed, but because the mass of the people were desirous to dispense with the unsavoury memorials of persecution.[3] When the Royal Visitation was concluded we may almost be

[1] Cardwell, *Doc. Ann.* No. XLIII.

[2] W. H. Frere, *English Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James*, p. 55.

[3] A good illustration of this will be seen in the Inventory of Canterbury

certain that few eucharistic vestments remained and were in use. This seems a reasonable view of the case and a view which is confirmed more or less throughout the reign.

Before leaving the Royal Visitation another of the Royal Injunctions must be noted, for round it considerable debate has arisen. The thirtieth injunction reads:

> "*Item*, Her Majesty being desirous to have the prelacy and clergy of this realm to be had as well in outward reverence as otherwise regarded for the worthiness of their ministries, and thinking it necessary to have them known to the people in all places and assemblies, both in the Church and without, and thereby to receive the honour and estimation due to the special messengers and ministers of Almighty God, willeth and commandeth that all Archbishops and Bishops and all other that may be called or admitted to preaching or ministry of the Sacraments or that be admitted into vocation ecclesiastical or into any society of learning in either of the Universities or elsewhere, shall use such seemly habits, garments and such square caps as were most commonly and orderly received in the latter year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth; not meaning to attribute any holiness or special worthiness to the said garments, but as S. Paul writeth, *Omnia dicenter et secundum ordinem fiant* (1 Cor. xiv cap.)."

There are three views of this Injunction: (i) Those who accept the "fraud rubric" theory explain it as merely administrative; (ii) others[1] have considered it to be a taking

Cathedral drawn up for Parker in July and August, 1563. The dean and chapter record the possession of many copes, chasubles, candlesticks, etc., without comment, but in the latter part of the Inventory, specially reserved for Pole's gifts to the Cathedral, Pole's mitre, holy water pot, crosier, etc., are noted as "defaced." Pole, as is well known, was not an agreeable memory to the Elizabethan authorities there, and some at least of his "ornaments" savoured of superstition and were therefore defaced (Wickham Legg, and W. St. John Hope, *Inventories of Cant. Cathedral*, p. 222).

[1] Gee, *The Elizabethan Book of Common Prayer and Ornaments*, p. 137. Dr Gee misinterprets Parker's letter (*Correspondence*, No. CCLXXXIII), for Parker only meant that the order for wafer bread *appended* to the Royal Injunctions was a further order, not the whole document.

of "other order" by the Queen under the Act of Uniformity and restoring the surplice alone for the Holy Communion; (iii) it has been usual to refer it exclusively to outward dress. The first view is inadmissible for reasons given above. The second equally so, for it would seem clear that it was not a change in the Ornaments' Rubric in view of the retention of the cope and almuce, and from the dilemma which often presented itself to the bishops about the legality of depriving a man for refusing to wear the surplice. This dilemma, on the assumption that the Injunction had to do with Church ornaments, would not have arisen had this Injunction been beyond doubt either administrative on the "fraud rubric" theory, or a new judicial order under the Act of Uniformity. It is by no means clear that the Royal Injunctions were formulated with the advice of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners or metropolitan, but such procedure was necessary to satisfy the proviso of the Act of Uniformity. There was no metropolitan, and it is very doubtful if the Ecclesiastical Commission was in existence when the Royal Injunctions were drawn up.[1] It was unlikely that "other order" should be taken in an Injunction wedged in, so to speak, with others and obscured by them without any specific reference to the orders abrogated and to the Act of Uniformity. Such a reference may not have been necessary, nor any special position required in any document for the exercise of the Royal power, but no contemporary evidence is forthcoming in which this Injunction is called an exercise of this discretion. The Puritan taunt already referred to certainly goes against any such theory, and the two definite instances[2] we know of as other or further order taken by the Queen differ most definitely, the one in form and the other in place from this Injunction. The third view is plausible on the face of the Injunction; but the use made of it seems to point otherwise, as will be seen as we go on with the history.

It was now time for the bishops to act. Most of the vacant

[1] See Ridsdale *v.* Clifton (2 Probate Division, 311).

[2] See Parker, *Correspondence*, p. 356, and The Royal Letter for the New Kalendar (Cardwell, *op. cit.*, No. LV).

sees were filled, and the new bishops entered upon a task of inconceivable difficulty. The Queen's support was unreliable. In both Church and State she inherited her father's capacity for making other people do her work and blaming them if things went wrong. While she always endeavoured to make the bishops stand on their own legs, and was more inclined to listen to them than the House of Commons on ecclesiastical questions, it was a very ambiguous position, and great care was needed to act in such a way as to carry the Queen's sympathy and approval. The strict requirements of law lay clear before the bishops set out in the Ornaments' Rubric. But two reasons prevented this from becoming the standard for ceremonial: (i) The restoration or retention in use of the vestments and ornaments was never "within the bounds of possibility," as the wholesale destruction of them during the Royal Visitation "soon put the general observance of the rubric out of the question. Even where the old ornaments were retained it is probable that they were little in use, for whatever the law might be, the conduct of the Commissioners was an object-lesson which no one could afford to disregard."[1] (ii) It was undesirable. Even had the bishops wished to demand the full pound of flesh, practical difficulties faced them. The whole religious life of the country was complicated by the new extreme Protestant party, to whom Anglicanism was only in a small and inadequate degree removed from Romanism. The age was an age of compromise and transition, with the whole religious system undergoing a severe testing. It would have been impossible to have attempted to fulfil the Elizabethan ideal of holding the nation together in a National Church had the bishops taken up a hard and fast line, and as yet there was no idea in the minds of any party of breaking away from the Church. They decided, therefore, in the face of these facts, to be satisfied with a less standard of conformity than the full letter of the law demanded. It was quite impossible for them at this early period of their rule to see that a compromise could not be a basis of unity and that the drabness and dullness of Geneva was not likely to admit any distinctive

[1] Frere, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

dress for worship. One thing alone was clear to them at the moment. They must endeavour to have some decency in worship and to carry with them not only the Royal support but the good will of as many of the clergy as possible. They decided, therefore, to base their compulsory demands less on the Ornaments' Rubric as a whole than on that part of it that could be held to be reinforced by the Thirtieth Injunction when interpreted to refer to dress in church as well as out of church.

This was all part of a larger policy which naturally commended itself to the new bishops as they took over the administration from the hands of the Visitors, viz., that of basing their general methods in other respects besides this on the Royal Injunctions. The document here published is the embodiment of this policy. It consists of a number of Interpretations based upon the Injunctions and of some other resolutions and decisions which were to shape the episcopal policy.

Two items deal with clerical dress and vestments:

> "That all ministers and others having any living ecclesiastical shall go in apparel agreeable, or else within two monitions given by the ordinary to be deposed or sequestered from his fruits according to the discretion of the said ordinary or his lawful deputy."
>
> "That there be used but only one apparel as the cope in the ministration of the Lord's Supper and the surplice in all other ministrations," etc.

These two items are found in all the manuscripts. Placed together thus, it is at once clear that the one refers to outdoor dress and the other to "Church" dress. The manuscripts further confirm this; in the Petyt copies the second is in the section "Concerning the Service Book," and the first is in the section, "Resolutions concerning the Injunctions."

Besides, in the second Petyt MS. and in the Corpus MS. there is a small "30" written beside the first item quoted. Why? Because where a Royal Injunction is being commented on the number of the Royal Injunction is placed at the side. Thus the Thirtieth Royal Injunction is inter-

preted as referring to outdoor dress. This adds to the objections already considered against considering that Injunction as administrative on the "fraud rubric" theory, or legislative under the Act of Uniformity. But Parker and his brethren fell back on that Injunction with its reference to "in the Church." and took that phrase as their justification for making the authority of the Injunction cover their demand for the surplice. They wished at the same time to secure the use of the cope—if for no other reason because it was in use in the Queen's chapel. The cope could not be brought under the Injunction, therefore a regulation that demanded cope as well as surplice could not be set down as an interpretation of the Thirtieth Injunction. Consequently, that regulation appears next after the interpretations. In enforcing the surplice the bishops could say they were acting on the Injunctions. As to the cope, they did not enforce that actively. They laid it down at this stage as the dress to be worn by the celebrant, and if challenged they could quote the Ornaments' Rubric as their authority (apart from that there was none). But there is no sign of their being seriously challenged, since they did not enforce the cope even at this stage, and still less at later stages of the history.

This view of the case presupposes the authoritative character of "The Interpretations," etc., printed here.

The question, therefore, arises on what authority this document rests, since it has been gravely called in question or else curtly said to be of no value.

It is quite true that this document is not mentioned in any other official documents by any of its names or subdivisions, but sufficient evidence can be produced to show that not only were isolated items used in episcopal administration, but that whole paragraphs were incorporated in visitation documents—in other words, that, to say the least, it shaped the policy of episcopal administration. Before proceeding to investigate this evidence attention must be called to the Corpus MS., which differs considerably in detail from the Petyt MSS, and is later in time than they. It is headed, "Resolutions and orders taken by common consent of the bishops," etc. This heading evidently belongs to the

whole document, as will be seen from the paging of the MS. If this be so, it would appear that the entire document was "ratified and confirmed"[1] by the archbishops and bishops in April, 1561, who sat at Lambeth, "regulating and ordering of the matters of the Church." Of course this cannot be stated dogmatically, but taking the heading of the Corpus MS. and the wording of the Lambeth Articles it is a very reasonable conjecture. The point may be carried further. I am inclined to think that Parker refers to this document in a letter[2] to the Queen about this time, asking her approval of the episcopal action. There is no reason to believe this approval was ever formally granted. It does not seem that it was formally asked; and even if it were, a refusal was quite in keeping with the policy of Elizabeth. But in any case it received episcopal sanction and a tacit allowance from the Queen. The Canons of 1571[3] are somewhat, though not completely analogous. They never received Royal authority, but were acted on and enforced beyond all doubt.[4] That these present orders enjoyed a like position will at once appear. In Scambler's first visitation[5] of Peterborough Diocese in

[1] Cardwell, *op. cit.*, No. LVI, and Strype, *Parker*, I, 194, and *Corpus MSS* (Cambridge), vol. CXXI, p. 431. "First, that the articles agreed in the first session be ratified, confirmed, and put in execution."

[2] "We have of late in our consultations devised certain orders for uniform and quiet ministration in religion. We trust your gracious zeal towards Christ's religion will not improve [i.e., disapprove] our doings, though such opportunity of time hath not offered itself as yet to be suitors to your princely authority to have a public set synod to the full determination of such causes" (Parker, *Correspondence*, No. XCIII). This letter is undated, but the reference to a synod not yet held and a similar reference in the title of the Corpus MS. seem to place the date after February, 1561.

[3] Edited by Dr Collins, Bishop of Gibraltar (Church Hist. Society's Publications, No. XXXIV).

[4] See Grindal's Injunctions for York province, 1571 (*Second Ritual Report*, App. E, p. 411), items 23, 28, 37. Guest's Articles for Rochester Diocese, 1571, (*Guest Register*, item 7). Guest ordered all his clergy to possess a copy of these Canons in English within a month of his visitation. This order of Guest's is very interesting, as few English copies seem to have been used (see Collins *op. cit.*).

[5] Gunton, *History of Peterborough* (1686), p. 71. Gunton prints these Latin Articles of Religion in full and says, "These doctrinal articles . . . in his first episcopal visitation [Scambler] prescribed to the Dean and prebendaries of his

1561 he required general subscription by his cathedral clergy to the Latin Articles of Religion of the Petyt MSS. It is hardly likely that he would have had the boldness to enforce Articles of Religion which maintained certain positions round which much bitter controversy had gathered unless he felt he had some power behind him—the episcopate acting as a body—and this at a time when dogma was incomparably more in dispute than ceremonial.

Besides, we have reason to believe that the ceremonial compromise erected by this document was in some cases effectual. Some churches seem to have bought copes in 1560, for example, S. Mary Woolnoth, in the city of London, purchased in that year "a cope of blue velvet and gold." In the Convocation of 1563[1] a determined effort was made to introduce a series of Articles which would have abolished all ceremony and decency. One of these dealt with vestments, "That the use of copes and surplices may be taken away," etc. This would have been a meaningless proposal if some, at least, of the clergy were not complying with the requirements of the episcopal compromise. The Puritans did not succeed in having this series put to the vote, but eventually a series of six articles was put to the vote, and lost by a bare majority of one. It contained a proposal, "That it be sufficient for the minister in time of saying Divine Service and ministering the Sacraments to use a surplice," etc. This implies that if some were not using chasubles, they were at least using copes. In January, 1565, the Queen desired Parker[2] to have certificates of "what varieties and disorders there be . . . in ceremonies of the Church" drawn up for the different dioceses. Parker wrote to Grindal, among others, for such a certificate. The well-known paper, endorsed February 14, 1565, and called "Varieties

Church, requiring their subscription thereunto" (Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 330). Gunton wrote before Strype printed his imperfect version, and must therefore have seen Scambler's visitation injunctions in manuscript or in print. They do not exist among his documents at Peterborough. Scambler was consecrated March 24, 1561, and may have received or taken a copy of this document if he were present at Lambeth the following April, otherwise it must have been sent to him.

[1] Strype, *Annals*, I, i, p. 501.

[2] Parker, *Correspondence*, CLXXI.

in Service and the Administration used,"[1] seems to be in Grindal's writing, and is the only diocesan certificate now forthcoming. Among the varieties noted in the administration of the Holy Communion were "some with surplice and cope, some with surplice alone," etc. Again, during a conference[2] on nonconformity between Bentham, Bishop of Lichfield, and Axted, a recalcitrant minister, in 1565, the latter stated that "in many places of England the massing surplices and copes have been and are used to this day." All these instances confirm the conclusions which have been already drawn from the Convocation of 1563, viz., that copes and surplices were in use and that in some places the episcopal compromise succeeded. There also can hardly be any doubt that such an entry[3] as "a cope with all other things according to the Injunctions remaineth in our parish church A° Dñi 1565," and "18 March, 1565, [we] have a cope in the church the which we are admitted [by the injunc]tions to keep for our minister," refer to this episcopal document, and cannot be stretched to refer to the Thirtieth Royal Injunction of 1559, which on no interpretation dealt with copes.

But apart from ceremonial, the widest use I have discovered of this document is in Guest's Visitation of Rochester in 1565, which has escaped the notice of every previous writer.[4] The following items from his diocesan injunctions,

[1] *Lansdown MSS*, VIII, 7. Strype, Dixon and Dr Gee have printed this incorrectly. Mr James Parker has it more correctly in his *Letter to Lord Selborne*, p. 148. He, however, prints "surplice and copes." The British Museum authorities, incline to the reading "cope," and the plural seems to have arisen from mistaking a comma for an "s." The MS. is slightly broken at the ending of the word.

[2] *Stowe MSS*, CLVI, i.

[3] Peacock, *English Church Furniture*, pp. 42, 114. The spelling is here modernized. Strype gives an account of the vestments used in Canterbury Cathedral in the year 1564—the celebrating priest, Epistoller and Gospeller in copes. The MS. (*Corpus MSS*, CXXII, p. 323), however, is undated. It is signed by six prebendaries, of whom Pearson was appointed November 30, 1563, and Goodrick died before September, 1566. Thus it may be after the issue of the *Advertisements*, in March, 1566. But it would seem to be a return according to the Royal Order of January, 1565, and to belong to the early part of that year (Parker, *Correspondence*, p. 226). There is another certificate for the University of Cambridge (*Corpus MSS*, CVI, p. 627).

[4] *Guest Register* (Rochester). See Ornaments' Rubric Report (Convocation),

issued in June, 1565, show how far he was influenced by this document:

[1] "*Item*, that public teachers of grammar be neither officers in towns or cities, or farmers, or otherwise encumbered worldly to the let of their labours." [This is almost *verbatim* from all three MSS.]

[2] "*Item*, that in the Rogation-days of procession they sing or say in English the Psalms beginning *Benedic anima mea Domino*, with the Litany and Suffrages thereto, with a Homily of thanksgiving to God already devised and divided into three parts." [This is almost *verbatim* from the Corpus MS.]

[3] "*Item*, that there be no other Holy days observed besides the Sundays, but only such as be set out for holy days as in the Statute Anno quinto et sexto Edwardi VI and in the New Kalendar authorized by the Queen's Majesty." [This is almost *verbatim* from the Corpus MS.]

[4] "*Item*, that the churchwardens once in the month declare by their curates in bills subscribed with their hands to me or my officer under me who they be that will not readily pay their penalties for not coming to God's Divine Service according to the Statutes." [Almost *verbatim* from all MSS.]

[5] "*Item*, that children be not admitted to the Holy Communion before the age of xiii or xiiii years, of good discretion, and well instructed in the Catechism." [Almost *verbatim* from the Corpus MS.]

It may be argued that Guest is following the draft[1] of *The Advertisements* drawn up in 1564. But this will not hold good. For, although the first four items quoted from Guest exist more or less in that draft, yet he deliberately follows the

p. 64. The full documents of the Rochester visitations previously unpublished will shortly be published by Mr Frere and myself.

[1] Strype, *Parker*, III, Appendix No. XXVIII; *Petyt MSS*, vol. 538, 47, f. 515. This *Petyt MS.* is the original draft with the original signatures. The original Preface to the draft of *The Advertisements* as printed by Strype is not forthcoming, and he appears to print it from a copy in the same volume of MSS (f. 514).

wording and form of this document, which differs slightly in these items from that draft, and the last item[1] quoted from him is not in the draft at all.

It seems reasonable to believe that Guest had a copy —most probably of the Corpus MS.—of this document lying before him when he drew up his Injunctions, as that appears to be the only way to account for the remarkable use of the same identical words after the lapse of some years. Finally, over a dozen of the items from some of the MSS are incorporated in Parker's *Advertisements* of 1566.[2]

Besides the use of it in official documents, it is interesting to notice that Cox tried to secure the support of the Privy Council for one of the items[3] in this policy, stating it actually in the terms of the document itself. Writing to the Council in November, 1564, he makes suggestions to them for dealing with Nonconformists and suggests, "*Item*, incorrigible Arians, Pelagians, or Freewill men be sent into some one castle in North Wales or Wallingford, and there to live of their own labour and exercise, and none others be suffered to resort unto them but their keepers, until they be found to repent their errors." This is quoted verbatim from the Petyt MSS, and confirms the endorsement of the second Petyt MS. that Cox had something to do with drawing up the document.

Earl, in his Diary,[4] in speaking of the various "show[s] of disliking[s]," mentions the opposition to "cope, chalice, surplice, stole," etc. The date is not clear, but it occurs after an entry under 1562, and is in the early folios of his notes. This, however, is immaterial. "Cope" and "surplice" still appear as though they were enforced for there was "disliking" against them, and it is interesting to note the mention of the stole, which evidently as a Eucharistic vestment remained, and was, of course, disapproved by many. A careful study of his

[1] This last item about the age for admission to Communion does not appear in *The Advertisements* of 1566.

[2] Parker may refer to this document when he writes to Grindal, March 28, 1566, "orders . . . which as your lordship doth know were agreed among us long ago, and yet in certain respects not published" (*Correspondence*, No. CCX, Cf. No. CLXXV). The reference, however, may be to the draft *Advertisements*.

[3] *Hatfield MSS* (Hist. MSS Commission) I, 308.

[4] Univ. Libr. Cambridge, MS. Mm. 1. 29.

record appears to show that he refers to the Convocation of 1563. He also records the well-known scene at S. Sepulchre's, London, which marks the attempt to enforce the surplice, when all other hope was gone, and Parker formulating *The Advertisements.*

These instances of the actual use of this document, in addition to the other evidence about copes, go a considerable way to prove its value and authority. There seems to be no doubt that it was drawn up with full episcopal sanction, and with that behind (perhaps with the unofficial sanction of the Queen) was enforced. Unfortunately, there are comparatively few visitation documents extant between 1561 and 1566, and it is, therefore, impossible to say how wide its influence extended, but sufficient evidence has been brought forward to at least transfer the document from the doubtful position it has hitherto occupied to one of comparative assurance and security. One other fact connected with this document helps to prove its authenticity as well as to illustrate official action on the part of the bishops, at any rate apart from the Crown formally. Between the drawing up of the first MSS and the Corpus MS. the Latin Articles of Religion disappear, and their place is taken by *The Eleven Articles*, commonly known as a "Declaration[1] of Certain Principal Articles of Religion," etc., which was drawn up by the archbishops and bishops. This is referred to in the Corpus MS.:

> "That the Declaration devised for unity of Doctrine may be enjoined to be used throughout the realm uniformly."

This *Declaration* must have been drawn up after February, 1561, when Young went to York. There is no evidence that it ever received the sanction of the Crown. It was ordered to be read by the clergy "on first entering into their cures and also after that yearly at two several times, that is to say, the

[1] It is printed by Burnet (v, 563) from Jugge's edition, also by Strype (*Annals*, I, i, p. 325), from a printed broadside in Corpus Library, Cambridge (vol. CVI, p. 422). The chief difference between Burnet's edition and the Corpus copy is that the words "on . . . Gospel" in the title are erased in the atter and are therefore omitted by Strype.

Sunday next following Easter Day and S. Michael the Archangel [or on some other Sunday within one month after those feasts immediately after the Gospel]." It was confirmed and ordered to be used throughout the realm uniformly by the Lambeth Articles of April, 1561.[1] Stephens gives the form used in Ireland in 1566.[2] There is ample evidence to prove that the order for the use of *The Declaration* made in this Corpus MS. was fully acted upon. For example, Bentham ordered it to be read twice every year in every parish in Coventry and Lichfield,[3] and even went further and required it to be placed in every church along with the Bible, Paraphrases of Erasmus, and Homilies. It also survived the Articles of Religion of 1563, and Cox required his clergy to read it regularly in Ely diocese as late as 1570–1574.[4]

Finally, with regard to the ceremonial compromise, the bishops gave up hope of having a cope used in parish churches for the Holy Communion, as the Nonconformist party became stronger and more aggressive. Their policy was directed to enforce the bare decency of the surplice, and even that aroused keen and bitter controversy and opposition. They sheltered themselves behind the Royal Injunctions of 1559, and often spoke of "a surplice ordered by the Queen's Majesty's Injunctions." It has already been made clear that they did not conceive that the Queen had taken "other order" by the Thirtieth Royal Injunction and abrogated the Ornaments' Rubric, which alone could cover the cope which they attempted to retain. They fell back, however, on this Injunction, as has been pointed out, to cover the enforcement of the surplice in days when all hope of a

[1] See above, p. 17, and note.

[2] *Irish Book of Common Prayer*, I, p. xix.

[3] *S. P. Domestic Eliz.*, vol. XXXVI, 41. Dixon (V, 71n) has printed Bentham's Injunctions, but incorrectly and incompletely. There is a later manuscript of them in the same volume of State Papers.

[4] *Second Ritual Report*, App. E, p. 406. It seems probable that Grindal deprived a clergyman for refusing to read it (see Heywood, *Ancient Laws for King's College*, p. 210). It seems to have been called "the general confession" or "the confession" (Cf. Parkhurst's Injunctions [1561] No. XIV, *Second Ritual Report*, App. E, p. 401). This illustrates the extent of episcopal administrative authority quite apart from the official support of the Crown.

general use of chasuble and cope had practically been abandoned. This document may have become known as "the Injunctions,"[1] perhaps, from the fact that it dealt largely with the Royal Injunctions, and thus became gradually identified with the Queen's name. It is not a very strong case, but it must be judged with all the circumstances. Two things are clear: (i) The Royal Injunctions did not specifically order the use of the surplice for the Holy Communion, were not a taking of "other order," and were not considered to be such an act of the Royal prerogative under the Act of Uniformity by Parker and his brethren within a few months of their enforcement. (ii) The bishops ordered frequently the use of a surplice "according to the Queen's Majesty's Injunctions." These two statements are apparently contradictory. The explanation I have endeavoured to give seems the only possible one. The cope was abandoned, the surplice was shifted up "from other ministrations" to the Holy Communion, enforced as being agreed on by the bishops, and their order took effect as the Queen's Injunctions, not only because in a lesser degree originally connected with the Royal Injunctions, but because the Queen may have given it, indeed most likely did give it, verbal approval in reply to Parker's request.[2]

This document, therefore, affords us an example of the earliest attempt on the part of the bishops to dispense with some of the legal ceremonial requirements[3] rather than alienate the vast majority of the clergy. They began their administration by a compromise. The full eucharistic vestments, legally provided for and ordered to be worn, were never demanded; they continued with a compromise and tried to retain a cope; they ended by a compromise, and were satisfied with the surplice. The stress of circumstances dogged

[1] See p. 7.

[2] See p. 17 and note. The enforcement of the surplice according to the Queen's Injunctions first appears in Parker's visitation in the summer of 1563 (*Second Rit. Rep.*, App. E). Doubtless the debates and proposals in Convocation influenced him (see p. 18).

[3] Examples in other requirements are frequent. For example, Guest was satisfied with Holy Communion once in three weeks in Rochester Cathedral, though the Prayer Book required a celebration every Sunday (*Guest Register*).

them at every step, and even their final *pis aller* was far from being acceptable to a large body of clergy. In turn the surplice became as much a badge of popery as ever chasuble and cope were. It is easy to blame the bishops, but it must be remembered that the overwhelming circumstances of the time left room for a coercive policy in ceremonial only when mere decency was at stake. To enforce the law, and demand the use of the vestments would simply have been foolhardy and tactless, with fifty per cent of the members of Convocation clamourers for further "reform." It cleared the air somewhat to let them be destroyed or pass into disuse, and to make as large a concession as any retention of Church discipline could allow. It is no exaggeration to say that as the vestments passed quite out of the sphere of a practical policy, they disappeared from the field of controversy. When the crisis of 1566 arrived it was a different question, and the battle raged round the surplice alone, finally, in its fiercest moments, passing back on the Puritans' side to what they knew was almost an impossible argument to meet. "You yourselves do not obey the law." This leads up to and beyond another attempt by the bishops to unify and conciliate in *The Advertisements* of 1566.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

The Petyt MSS

containing:

(i) The draft copy with corrections in Parker's hand (*Petyt MSS*, 538, 38, f. 223 and ff.). It has no continuous numbering of the items, but only in its earlier part marginal figures referring to Nos 3, 19, 20, of the Injunctions. This is collated with:

(ii) The second Petyt copy (*Petyt MSS*, 538, 47, ff. 545 and ff.), which is numbered, and is in one writing throughout. The differences are noted on the left side. The outer number refers to the Royal Injunction commented on, the inner number is the number of the item itself. These numbers stop when matters unconnected with the Royal Injunctions and Book of Common Prayer arise.

The spelling has been modernized, and the original punctuation has in places been supplemented in printing the text. In the marginal notes and footnotes variants are given that are of substantial importance, but not mere variations of spelling or punctuation.

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I

Resolutions concerning the Injunctions

3. 1. To the third the interpretation is, that if the parson be able he shall preach in his own person every month, or else shall preach by another, so that his absence be approved by the ordinary of that diocese in respect of sickness, service, or study at the universities. Nevertheless, yet for want of able preachers and parsons, to tolerate them without penalty, so they preach in their own persons, or by a learned substitute, once in every three months of the year.

8. 2. *Item*, that no visitors' licences to preach be continued in force.

16. 3. *Item*,[1] that to that article be added that at the archdeacon's visitation, the archdeacon shall appoint the curates to certain taxes of the New Testament to be conned without book, and at their next to execute a rehearsal of them.

19. 4. That in the procession they sing or say the two psalms

[1] This "Resolution" explains the method of the examination of the clergy in the studies which the Twenty-fourth Royal Injunction had ordered.

beginning *Benedic anima mea Domino*, with the litany and suffrages thereto; with some sermon, or an homily of thanksgiving to God, and moving to temperancy in their drinkings.

20. 5. That[1] on Sundays there be no shops open, nor artificers going about their affairs worldly. And that in all fairs and common markets falling upon the Sunday, there be no showing of any wares before the service be done.

44. 6. *Item*, that there be some longer catechism devised and printed for the erudition of simple curates.

27. 7. Homilies to be made of those arguments which be showed in the book of homilies, or others of some convenient arguments, as of the sacrifice of the Mass, of the common prayers to be in English, that every particular church may alter and change their public rites and ceremonies of their church, keeping the substance of the faith inviolably, with such like. And that these be divided to be made by the bishops, every bishop two and the Bishop of London to have four.

30. 8. *Item*, that all ministers and others having any living ecclesiastical shall go in apparel agreeable, or else, within two monitions given by the ordinary, to be deposed or sequestered from his fruits according to the discretion of the said ordinary, or his lawful deputy.

9. *Item*, that such as be for their wilfulness deprived in this necessity of ministers, shall be called by the discretion of the ordinary to minister some cure upon reasonable wages; or else be ordered[2] according to the laws.

10 *Item*, that incorrigible Arians, Pelagians or Free Will men be sent into some one castle in North Wales or Wallingford, and there to live of their own labour and exercise: and none other be suffered to resort unto them but their keepers, until they be found to repent their errors.

49. 11. *Item*, that public teachers of grammar be neither officers in cities or towns, or farmers, or otherwise accumbered worldly, to the let of their labours.

43. 12. *Item*, that young priests or ministers made or to be made be so instructed, that they be able to make apt answers

[1] *MS.* 47 *prefixes* Items. [2] *MS.* 38 *has* ordeyned *erased.*

concerning the form of some catechism to be prescribed. And that Readers neither serve in any great cure, [1]nor where is any incumbents.[1]

46. 9 (*sic*). *Item*, that the churchwardens once in the month declare by their curates in bills subscribed with their hands to the ordinary or to his next officer under him: who they be which will not readily pay their penalties for not coming to God's Divine Service according to the statutes.

Concerning the Book of Service

14. *First*, that there be used but only one apparel as the cope in the ministration of the Lord's Supper, and the surplice at all other ministrations. And that there be no other manner and form of ministering the Sacraments, but as the service book doth precisely prescribe, with the declaration of the Injunctions, as for example the common bread.

15. *Item*,[2] that the table be removed out of the choir into the body of the church before the chancel door, where either the choir seemeth to be too little, or at great feasts of receivings, and at the end of the Communion, to be set up again according to the Injunctions.

16. *Item*,[3] that there be no other holy days observed besides the Sundays, but only such as be set out in [4]the Act of King Edward A° 5 et 6, Cap. 3.[4]

17. *Item*, that the ministers receiving[5] the Communion at the hands of the executor to be placed kneeling next to the table.

[1]—[1]*MS.* 38 *has this altered from* nor where the incumbents may be resident.

[2]The Royal Injunctions allowed the Holy Table to be placed within the chancel as was most convenient for minister and people. For a further proof of the authenticity of this item compare Dorman's *Proufe of certeyne Articles* 1564, p. 120, "This day your communion table is placed in the midst of the choir the next removed into the body of the church."

[3]This helps to date these Petyt MSS, since neither refers, as the Corpus MS. does, to the New Calendar of 1561.

[4]—[4]*MS.* 38 *has this altered from* set out in red in the kalendar of the service book, with two days following the feast of Easter and Pentecost; *which also is the reading of MS.* 47.

[5]*MS.* 38 *has here* be placed next *erased*. *MS.* 47 *omits* the.

18. *Item*,[1] that the Communion[2] bread be thicker and broader than it is now commonly used.

19. *Item*, private baptism in necessity, as in peril of death, to be ministered either by the Curate, Deacon, or Reader, or some other grave and sober man if the time will suffer.

20. *Item*, that children be not admitted to the Communion before the age of twelve or thirteen years, of good discretion and well instructed before.

Concerning Burial

21. *Item*, that when any Christian body is in passing, that the bell be tolled, and that the curate be specially called for to comfort the sick person. And after the time of his passing, to ring no more, but one short peal, and one before the burial, and another short peal after the burial.

22. *Item*, to avoid contention, let the curate have the value of the chrisom, not under the value of four pence and above, as they can agree, and as the state of the parents may require.

23. *Item*, that ministers being not learned in the Latin tongue, if they be well exercised in the Scriptures and be well testified of, for their lives and conversation, and of their wives, to be tolerated in the office of deacons. And after a good time of experience, to admit them to the order of priesthood. And of such as be skilled in the Latin tongue, to have good examination of their competent knowledge in the principal articles of the faith, and of some competent matter to comfort the sick and weak in conscience.

Marginal Note Orders.

24. *Item*, against the day of ordering appointed to give open recognizations to all men to except against such whom they know to be not worthy either for life or conversation. And there to give notice that none shall sue for orders, but within their own diocese, where they were born, or had their long time of dwelling, and that by the testimony of their ordinaries, except of such as be degreed in the universities.

[1] See the order concerning communion bread at the end of the Royal Injunctions (Gee and Hardy, *Documents*, p.).

[2] *MS.* 38 *has* coïon : *MS.* 47 *has* comon *altered to* comunion.

25. *Item*, that canonical impediments[1] be still observed to repell them which sue to be ordered, except they have dispensation agreeable to the same.

26. *Item*, that the ministers or readers out of service, remove not from the diocese or cure, where they first began, and were admitted by the ordinary, except they bring letters testimonial of their removing, allowed by the ordinary.

27. *Item*, here suit to be made to the Queen's Majesty for reformation[s] of pensions imposed.

28. *Item*, that the order of the articles prescribed to ministers be also inserted in this form [2]*ut infra*.[2]

29. *Item*, that one brief form of declaration be made setting out the principal articles of our religion: the rather for the unity of doctrine in the whole realm, specially to be spoken by the parsons, curates, or both at their first entry, and after twice in the year, for avoiding all doubt and suspicion of varying from the doctrine determined in the realm.

30. *Item*, that the bishop do call home once in the year any prebendary in his church which studieth at[3] the universities, to know how he profiteth in learning. And that he be not suffered to be a serving and waiting man: dissolutely, or else to sequester the fruits of his living.

Matrimony

31. For the banns asking, forasmuch as the statute of faculties doth not define the case, whether the canons or the custom hitherto in use may be followed without danger or no, it is left to every man's prudence.

32. Whether a bishop may dispense in times prohibited, in which matter deliberation is thought best.

Collations of Benefices

First, agreed that no bishop shall grant in writing any advowson of his patronage, until the benefice be void, except that in a synod or convocation the more part of the bishops do think it reasonable to be released in some special case.

[1] See Reichel, *Canon Law*, 1, p. 239 and ff., for the canonical impediments to Holy Orders. This is an interesting appeal to pre-Reformation Canon Law.

[2]—[2] *MS.* 38 *added in the corrector's hand.* [3] *MS.* 47 in.

Item, that from this day forth no confirmation be given by any bishop for term of years upon benefice with cure.

Item, that no bishop shall hereafter ever grant to any appropriation to be newly made without the like consent as in the first article.

Item, that the ordinaries do use good diligent examination to foresee all simoniacal pacts or covenants with their presenters for the spoil of their glebe[1] or tenths.

[2]*Item*, that the ordinary show to the curates in their suits for their tithes etc., reasonable favour with expeditions, so that their causes be determined within three weeks, if the cause doth not evidently require more leisure.[2]

[3][*The Order of the Articles prescribed to Ministers*][3]

Sacra Scriptura in se continet omnem doctrinam pietatis, ex qua sufficienter et error omnis convinci possit et veritas stabiliri.

Symbolum Nicenum, Athanasii, et quod communiter Apostolorum dicitur, continet brevissime articulos fidei nostræ sparsim in scripturis ostensis.[4] Qui istis non crediderint inter veros catholicos non sunt recipiendi.

Ecclesia Christi est, in qua purum Dei verbum prædicatur. Et sacramenta juxta Christi ordinationem administrantur: Et in qua clavium auctoritas retinetur.

Quævis ecclesia particularis auctoritatem habet instituendi mutandi et abrogandi ceremonias et ritus ecclesiasticos, modo ad decorem ordinem et aedificationem fiat.

Christus tantum duo sacramenta expresse nobis com-

[1] *MS.* 38 *had also* lands *erased.*

[2]—[2] *MS.* 38 *added in the corrector's hand.*

[3]—[3] *No heading in MS.* 38 *or MS.* 47. This is taken from No. 28 above. For the document, see the Introduction. These Articles are based on the Edwardine Articles of Religion (1533) (Hardwick, *Hist. of Arts.* ch. vi). The most important difference is in the fourth item, where the right of a local church to change, abrogate, or institute ceremonies and rites is asserted. This did not appear in the Edwardine formulary. It was one of the questions proposed for discussion at the Westminster Disputation in 1559 (Hayward, *Annals of Q. Eliz.*, p. 20) and was finally incorporated in the Thirty-nine Articles (Dixon, v, p. 405, and ff.)

[4] *MS.* 47 *corrects to* ostensos.

mendat: Baptisma et Eucharistiam, [1]quibus confertur gratia[1] rite sumentibus, etiamsi malus sit minister, et non prosunt indigne suscipientibus quantumvis bonus sit minister.

Laudandus est ecclesiae mos baptizandi parvulos et retinendus est.

Cena Dominica non est tantum symbolum mutuæ benevolentiæ Christianorum inter se, sed magis symbolum est nostræ redemptionis[2] per Christi mortem et nostræ conjunctionis cum Christo, ubi fidelibus vere datur et exhibetur communio corporis et sanguinis Domini.

Sacramentum Eucharistiæ neque ex usu primitivæ ecclesiæ aut servabatur, aut circumferebatur, vel elevabatur ut adoraretur.

Missa, quæ consuevit a sacerdotibus dici, non erat a Christo instituta, sed a multis Romanis pontificibus consarcinata, nec est sacrificium propitiatorium pro vivis et defunctis.

Scholistica transubstantiatio panis et vini in corpus et sanguinem Christi probari non potest ex sacris literis.

Non omne peccatum mortale seu voluntarie perpetratum post baptismum est irremissibile et peccatum in Spiritum Sanctum.

Post acceptum Spiritum Sanctum potest homo peccare, ac denuo etiam resipiscere. Nemoque sine peccato vivit, quamvis regeneratis in Christo non imputetur.

Justificatio ex sola fide est certissima doctrina Christianorum.

Elizabetha regina Angliæ est unicus et supremus gubernator hujus regni et omnium dominiorum et regionum suarum quarumcunque tam in rebus et causis ecclesiasticis quam temporalibus.

Verbum Dei non prohibet feminarum regimen,[3] cui obediendum est juxta ordinationem Dei.

Romanus pontifex nullam habet jurisdictionem in hoc regno, nec alia quæcunque potestas extranea.

[1]—[1] *MS.* 38 *has* quæ conferunt gratiam *erased.*

[2] *MS* 47 *has* religionis *by mistake.*

[3] This is a reference to John Knox's book, *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women.*

Leges civiles possunt Christianos propter flagitia morte punire.

Christianis licet ex jussu principis bella gerere, et ex justa causa jurare, et propria possidere.

Doctrina scholasticorum de purgatorio et invocatione divorum nullum[1] habet fundamentum ex verbo Dei.

Præceptum Dei est, ut quæ leguntur in ecclesia, illa lingua proferantur, quæ ab ecclesia intelligatur.

Absque externa et legitima vocatione non licet cuiquam sese ingerere in aliquod ministerium ecclesiasticum, vel sæculare.

Matrimonium inter Christianos legitime juxta verbum Dei initum et contractum est indissolubile, nec per traditiones hominum unquam convellendum.

Cœlibatus nulli hominum statui præcipitur, neque injungitur ministris ecclesiæ ex verbo Dei.

> Haec omnia nos vera esse et publice docenda profitemur. Eaque juxta datam nobis facultatem et eruditionem tuebimur et docebimus. Hancque nostram confessionem manuum nostrarum subscriptionibus testificamur, contrariamque doctrinam abolendam esse judicamus, et detestamur.[2]

Injunctions to be confessed and subscribed by them that shall be admitted Readers

I shall not preach nor interpret, but only read that which is appointed by public authority

I shall read the service appointed plainly, distinctly and audibly, that all the people may hear and understand.

I shall not minister the Sacraments, nor other rites of the church, but bury the dead, and purify women after their childbirth.

I shall keep the register book according to the Injunctions.

I shall use sobriety in apparel, and specially in the church at common prayer.

[1] *MS.* 47 *corrects this from* multum, *erased.*

[2] These articles are given in a somewhat different form in Gunton, *Hist. of Peterborough*, p. 71.

I shall move men to quiet and concord, and not give them cause of offence.

I shall bring in to mine ordinary a testimony of my behaviour from the honest of the parish where I dwell, within one half year next following.

I shall give place upon convenient warning, so thought by the ordinary, if any learned minister shall be placed there at the suit of the patron of the parish.

I shall claim no more of the fruits sequestered of such cure where I shall serve, but as it shall be thought meet to the wisdom of the ordinary.

I shall daily at the least read one chapter of the Old Testament and another of the New, with good advisement to the increase of my knowledge.

I shall not appoint in my room by reason of mine[1] absence or sickness any other man, but shall leave it to the suit of the parish to the ordinary for assigning some other able man.

I shall not read but in poorer[2] parishes destitute of incumbents, except in time of sickness, or for other good considerations to be allowed by the ordinary.

[3]*For deacons, etc.*

I shall not openly intermeddle with any artificers' occupations, as covetously to seek a gain thereby, having in ecclesiastical living the sum of twenty nobles, or above, by the year.[3]

[1] *MS.* 47 my. [2] *MS.* 47 poore.

[3—3] *In MS.* 38 *this is added in the corrector's hand. The endorsement there is* Resolutions upon the Injunctions. *MS.* 47 *has this article, and for endorsement* A declaration to have been made of the Injunctions, by Dr Cox.

APPENDIX II

Corpus Christi MSS, Cambridge,

cvi, p. 423 and ff.

Resolutions and orders taken by common consent of the bishops, for the present time until a synod may be had for observation and maintenance of uniformity in matters ecclesiastical throughout all dioceses in both provinces.

[p. 423] *First*, that all licences given for preaching by the late visitors general be no longer in force.[1] And that such as hereafter shall be admitted to preach shall be diligently examined as well of unity of doctrine established by public authority, as admonished to use sobriety and discretion in teaching the people, abstaining from busy meddling in matters of controversy, and to consider the gravity of their office and to foresee with diligence the matters which they will speak, to utter them to the edification of the audience.

Item, that they set out in their preaching the reverent estimation of the Holy Sacrament of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, exciting the people to the often and devout receiving of the Holy Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ in such form as is already prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer and as shall be further declared in an Homily concerning the virtue and efficacy of the said Sacrament.

Item, that they move the people to all obedience as well in observation of the orders appointed in the Book of Common Service as in the Queen's Majesty's Injunctions, as also for all other civil duties for subjects to do.

Item, that they use not to exact or receive unreasonable rewards or stipends of the poor curates coming to their cures to preach, whereby they might be noted as followers of filthy lucre rather than use the office of preaching of charity and good zeal to the salvation of men's souls.

[p. 424] *Item*, that public baptism be ministered in the font commonly used, not in basins or any other like thing, and that the said font be not removed by any private advice.

[1] See No. 8 Royal Injunctions, 1559.

Item, that private baptism in necessity (as in peril of death) to be ministered either by the curate, deacon, or reader, or some other grave and sober person if the time will suffer.

Interpretations and further considerations of certain Injunctions

3. 1. The interpretation is, That if the parson be able, he shall preach in his own person every month; or else shall preach by another, so that his absence be approved by the ordinary of that diocese, in respect of sickness, service, or study at the universities. Nevertheless yet for want of able preachers and parsons, to tolerate them without penalty, so they preach in their own persons, or by a learned substitute, once in every iij months of the year.

16. 3. That to the xijth Article be added that at the archdeacon's visitation the archdeacon shall appoint the curates to certain texts of the New Testament, to be conned without book; and at their next synod to exact [execute] a rehearsal of them.

p.425. 29. 1. *Item*, that in the Rogation days of procession they sing or say in English the ij Psalms beginning, *Benedic anima mea, Domino*, with the Litany and suffrages thereto, with an homily of thanksgiving to God already devised and divided into three parts.

20. 5. *Item*, that on Sundays there be no shops open, nor artificers going about their affairs worldly. And that all fairs and common markets falling upon the Sunday, there be no showing of any wares before the Service be done.

sic (16.) That there be none other holy days observed besides the Sundays, but only such as be set out for holydays as in the Statute Anno V° and VJ° Edw. VI^ti^ and in the New Kalendar authorized by the Queen's Majesty.

27. 7. *Item*, homilies to be made of these arguments which be showed in the book of homilies; or others of some convenient arguments, as of the sacrifice of the Mass, of the common prayers to be in English, that every particular Realm may alter and change their public rites and ceremonies of their Church, keeping the substance of the faith inviolably, with

such like. And that these be divided to be made by the bishops.

o. 8. That all ministers and others having any living ecclesiastical shall go in apparel agreeable, or else, within two monitions given by the ordinary, to be deposed or sequestered from his fruits according to the discretion of the said ordinary or his lawful deputie.

. 11. *Item*, that public teachers of grammar be neither officers in cities or towns, or farmers, or otherwise encumbered worldly, to the let of their labours.

. 12. That young priests or ministers made or to be made, be so instructed, that they be able to make apt answers concerning the form of some catechism to be prescribed. And that readers neither serve in great cure, nor where any incumbent be resident.

.426] *Item*, that the churchwardens once in the month declare
13. by their curates, in bills subscribed with their hands, to the ordinary, or to the next officer under him, who they be which will not readily pay their penalties for not coming to God's Divine service according to the statutes.

Item, that there be used but only one apparel; as the Cope in the ministration of the Lord's Supper, and the surplice at all other ministrations; and that there be none other manner and form of ministering the Sacraments, but as the service book doth precisely prescribe, and with such declaration as be in the Injunctions concerning the form of the communion bread and placing of the communion borde, etc.

Item, that the table be removed out of the quire into the body of the Church before the chancel door, where either the quire seemeth to be too little, or at great feasts of receivings, and at the end of the communion to be set up again according to the Injunction.

Item, that the ministers receiving the communion at the hands of the Executor to be placed kneeling next to the table.

Item, that the Communion bread be thicker and broader than it is now commonly used.

Item, that children be not admitted to the communion before the age of xij or xiij years, of good discretion and well instructed.

Item, that beside the catechism for children which are to be confirmed another somewhat longer may be devised for communicants and the third in Latin for schools.

Item, that when any Christian body is passing that the bell be tolled; and that the curate be specially called for, to comfort the sick person. And after the time of his passing, to ring no more but one short peal; and one before the burial and another short peal after the burial.

Item, to avoid contention let the curate have the value of the chrisom; not under the value of iiij pence, and above as they can agree, and as the state of the parents may require.

Item, that ministers being not learned in the Latin tongue if they be well exercised in the Scriptures, and be well testified of for their lives and for the conversations, of their wives, to be tolerated in the office of deacons. And after a good time of experience to admit them to the order of priesthood. And of such as be skilled in the Latin tongue, to have good examination of their competent knowledge in the principal articles of the faith, and of some competent matter to comfort the sick and weak in conscience.

Item, against the day of ordering appointed, to give open precognizations to all men, to except against such whom they know not to be worthy, either for life or conversation. And there to give notice, that none shall sue for orders but within their own diocese, where they were born, or had there [their?] long time of dwelling. And that by the Testimony of their ordinaries; except of such as be degreed in the universities.

Item, that most of the canonical impediments be still observed to repel them which sue to be ordered, except they have dispensation agreeable to the same.

Item, that readers be by every Ordinary reviewed, and their ability and manners examined and by discretion of the Ordinaries to remain in their office or to be removed and their wage to be ordered, and the abstinence of mechanical sciences to be also enjoined by the discretion of the said ordinaries as well to ministers as to Readers.

Item, that no curate or minister be permitted to serve without examination, and admission of the ordinary, or his

deputy in writing, having respect to the greatness of the cure and the meetness of the party. And that the said ministers if they remove from one diocese to another be by no means admitted to serve without testimony of the diocesan from whence he cometh in writing.

Item, that the declaration devised for unity of doctrine may be enjoined to be used throughout the realm uniformly.

Item, that the bishop do call home once in the year any prebendary in his church which studieth in the universities, to know how he profiteth in learning; And that he be not suffered to be a serving and a waiting-man dissolutely; or else to sequester the fruits of his living.

Item, that all such marriages as have been contracted within the Levitical degrees be dissolved, And, namely, those, who have married two sisters, one after another, who are by common consent judged to be within the case.

Item, that no parsons be suffered to marry within the degrees mentioned in a Table[1] set forth by the Archbishop of Canterbury in that behalf.

Item, that no bishop shall grant in writing any advowson of his patronage, until the benefice be void; except that in a Synod or Convocation, the more part of the bishops do think it reasonable to be released in some special case.

Item, that from this day forth no confirmation be given by any bishop for a term of years upon benefice with cure without like proviso.

Item, that no bishop hereafter shall ever grant to any appropriation to be newly made without the like consent as in the former article of advowson.

Item, that the ordinaries do use good, diligent examination, to foresee all simoniacal pacts or covenants with the presenters, for the spoil of their glebe or tenths.

[1] In 1563 Parker, on his own authority, set forth a Table of Prohibited degrees. It was ordered to be hung up in the churches. This order was widely enforced in episcopal visitations.

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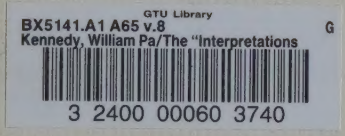

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